

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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P 051330Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2380

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 CONAKRY 2039

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS3

TAGS: PFOR US UR GV MILI EAID SG IV

SUBJECT: SOVIET RECONNAISSANCE FLIGHTS: ANALYSIS AND
RECOMMENDATION

REF: CONAKRY 1955 AND PREVIOUS

1. SUMMARY. AGGRIEVED OVER U.S. REFUSAL TO HOST
PL-480 DELEGATION AFTER SOVIET TU-95 FLIGHTS FROM
CONAKRY RESUMED, GOG HAS PUT MINI-FREEZE ON AMBASSADOR.
EMBASSY RECOMMENDS WE IGNORE PL-480 FOOD ISSUE FOR TIME
BEING, CONTINUE ATTEMPTED DIALOGUE ON GOG "SECURITY", AND
PROCEED WITH LESSER BILATERAL ITENO IN PIPELINE TO INDICATE
US DESIRE MAINTAIN JPNORMAL" RELATIONS DESPITE PROVOCATIVE
GUINEAN ACTION. END SUMMARY.

2. GOG IS TAKING THE LINE THAT GUINEA IS THE AGGRIEVED
PARTY SINCE US FAILED TO RESPOND WITH SECURITY GUARANTY
ESSENTIAL TO MORATORIUM ON SOVIET AIR DEPLOYMENTS, AND
THAT US IS "BLACKMAILING" GUINEA BY WITHHOLDING PL-480
RICE. SEKOU TOURE HAS STAGILY RETURNED UNOPENED A PER-
SONAL LETTER I SENT HIM DESIGNED TO REKINDLE THE DIALOGUE
ON THE WHOLE ISSUE; NEITHER TOURE NOR MOUSSA DIAKITE
WILL PRESENTLY RECEIVE ME.

3. DIAKITE'S LIEUTENANT, SEKOU CAMARA, COMMUNICATES
TOURE'S AND DIAKITE'S VIEWS TO EMBASSY VIA E/C
OFFICER DLOUHY. ACCORDING TO CAMARA, PRESIDENT TOURE
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IS MAKING INVIDIOUS COMPARISONS BETWEEN PRESENT US

AMBASSADOR,WHOM HE HOLDS PERSONALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR
"BLACKMAIL" CANCELLATION KOUROUMA/KEITA TRIP TO
EXECUTE RICE AGREEMENT, AND
PREVIOUS US AMBASSADOR, WHOM HE REGARDED AS EFFECTIVE
ADVOCATE OF GUINEAN INTERESTS IN WASHINGTON AND WHO
OBTAINED EXPANDED PL-480 AID ASSISTANCE FOR GUINEA.
CAMARA HINTS THAT SEKOU TOURE IS CONSIDERING MY EXPUL-
SION ON GROUNDS OF THREE SPECIFIC GRIEVANCES:
A) WITHDRAWAL OF "INVITATION" TO GUINEAN
DELEGATION TO US BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATIONS IN JULY;
B) TOO STRONGLY WORDED EMBASSY DIPLOMATIC NOTE
OF 30 AUGUST REGARDING DEPLORABLE SECURITY CONDITIONS
IN CONAKRY PORT AND PILFERAGE OF PL480 SHIPMENTS, AND
C) PL-480 "BLACKMAIL".

4. THIS IS A COMPLEX SITUATION IN WHICH CROSS-CULTURAL
COMMUNICATION IS NOT EASY. PRESIDENT HAS INSTILLED IN
HIS MINISTERS AN OBSESSIVE FEAR OF IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY
AND ARMED ATTACK. TOURE SEEMS TO ACCEPT ONLY PARTIALLY OUR
EXPLANATION OF TRUE MISSION OF TU-95S; HE THINKS THEY
FURNISH SOME RECONNAISSANCE PROTECTION TO GUINEA, AND HE
NO DOUBT REGARDS THEM AS SYMBOLIC OF (AND PERHAPS
NECESSARY TO) SOVIET MILITARY PRESENCE. WE DO NOT KNOW
HOW MUCH PRESSURE SOVIETS MAY HAVE APPLIED. DISINGENUOUSLY
OR NOT, GUINEANS CONTINUE TO DWELL UPON THE AMERICAN
SECURITY GUARANTY THEY REQUESTED. THEY CLAIM TO HAVE CON-
CLUDED THAT SECRETARY'S PROMISE TO STUDY THE PROBLEM WAS

A WAY TO DUCK THE QUESTION.

5. BY ANY REASONABLE INTERPRETATION, GOG HAS SHOWN BAD
FAITH. CAMARA (UNLIKE PRIMMIN AND DEFMIN) ACKNOWLEDGES
THAT GOG MADE COMMITMENT TO US ON AUG 31 TU-95 CUTOFF.
HE INSISTS THAT GOG IN FACT INFORMED SOVIETS OF
CUTOFF BUT THEN LATER PERMITTED SEPTEMBER 24 DEPLOY-
MENT WHEN US "SECURITY GUARANTY" WAS NOT RECEIVED. GOG
MUST HAVE ALREADY SECRETLY AUTHORIZED SEPT 24 DEPLOYMENT
WHEN THEY PRESSED US FOR QUICK SIGNATURE PL-480 AGREE-
MENT BY SEPTEMBER 23. DURING VERY CORDIAL SIGNING CERE-
MONY I REFERRED CLEARLY TO OUR RECOGNITION OF GUINEAN
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NONALIGNMENT, AND DIAKITE DELIVERED WARM EULOGY TO US/
GUINEAN RELATIONS AND CITED PRESIDENT'S PERSONAL INTEREST IN
PURSUING COOPERATION ON ALL FRONTS. HE DID NOT TELL US
THE SOVIET BEARS WOULD RETURN NEXT DAY. DESPITE THIS
PURPORTED RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION OVER "BLACKMAIL", THEY
WELL UNDERSTOOD OUR LINKAGE OF PL-480 WITH GUINEAN NON-
ALIGNMENT. I HAVE REPEATEDLY TOLD THEM USG CANNOT COMPART-
MENTALIZE THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFEELE AND ACTING ASSISTANT SECRETARY
SEELYE EACH STATED OUR CONCERN ABOUT GUINEAN NONALIGNMENT
IN MEETINGS WITH MINISTERIAL VISITORS. SECRETARY'S LETTER
OF AUGUST 17 WAS ALSO MADE CLEAR.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W

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P 051330Z OCT 76

FM AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2381

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 CONAKRY 2039

EXDIS

6. RECOMMENDATION: I REMAIN PERSUADED THAT SEKOU TOURE PLACES
HIGH POLITICAL VALUE ON MAINTENANCE OF REASONABLY GOOD
RELATIONS WITH US. PL-480 FOOD IS IMPORTANT TO HIM,
(ALTHOUGH PRC, AND NOW FRENCH AND EC, OFFER ALTERNATE
LOW COST/GRANT SOURCES). TOURE DOES NOT WISH TO
BECOME NOR TO BE VIEWED AS BECOMING OUTRIGHT LACKEY OF
USSR. WE SHOULD NOT BE OVERLY CONCERNED BY HIS POLICY
OF PLACING AMERICAN AMBASSADOR IN TEMPORARY DEEP FREEZE,
AND WE SHOULD NOT QUICKLY RELENT ON PL-480 DELIVERY
IN ORDER TO RESTORE "FRIENDLY RELATIONS". (CAMARA HAS

ADVISED WE DO JUST THIS.) WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO WORK
TOWARD SUPPRESSION OF SOVIET MILITARY DEPLOYMENTS DIRECTED
AGAINST OUR INTERESTS, ALTHOUGH REALIZATION OF THIS OBJEC-
TIVE NOW SEEMS LESS LIKELY. WE SHOULD WORK TO ESTABLISH
DIALOGUE ON GUINEAN SECURITY AND SHOULD DEMONSTRATE OUR
SENSITIVITY TO GUINEA'S FEARS, PARANOID OR NOT. ONE POSI-
TIVE ELEMENT IS THAT CAMARA ASSURES US SEKOU TOURE IS SATIS-
FIED US IS PLAYING NO ROLE IN "IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY"
AGAINST HIM.

7. IN THE LONG RUN, WE WILL PROBABLY WANT TO GET BACK
INTO THE PL-480 BUSINESS TO SOME EXTENT, REGARDLESS OF
GUINEAN PERFDY, FOR THE SAME REASONS WE HAVE MAINTAINED

AID IN THE PAST, AS SET FORTH IN 1976 PARA DRAFT. MY
PRESENT ASSESSMENT IS THAT SEKOU TOURE WILL NOT ALLOW
MATTERS TO DETERIORATE TO POINT OF REQUESTING MY
DEPARTURE. I PROPOSE THAT EMBASSY AND DEPARTMENT MAKE NO
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MENTION OF PL-480 IN COMING WEEKS AND THAT WE ALLOW
SEKOU TOURE TIME TO THINK THE SITUATION OVER. WHILE
DEMONSTRATING BY THE ABEYANCE OF PL-480 THAT WE DO NOT
ACCEPT LIGHTLY WHAT THE GUINEANS HAVE DONE, WE SHOULD
QUIETLY PROCEED WITH SMALL BILATERAL ACTIVITIES NOW IN
THE PIPELINE (E.G., SELF-HELP PROGRAMS, THE AIR ALASKA
LOAN COMPROMISE, CANCELLATION OF THE CONVERSION VOUCHER
REQUIREMENT, ETC.) AS SIGNS THAT WE WISH TO MAINTAIN
REASONABLE BILATERAL RELATIONS.
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